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GEORGE FOX AS A MYSTIC

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This paper is but a fragmentary contribution to that study of the "Varieties of Religious Experience" which William James has so significantly brought to the attention of students of human nature. I propose to sketch some personal peculiarities of the founder of Quakerism, George Fox, and in the end to show what place was filled in his life by what may be called his experiences as a mystic. Every one knows that the typical Quakers have made prominent amongst their spiritual exercises what they call "silent worship" as conducted in their meetings, and that they have held that this "silent worship" often brings the worshipper under the direct influence of the movings of the Divine Spirit. I have here no concern with any question as to the truth or as to the ultimate merits of this or of any other tenet of George Fox or of his followers. I intend simply to show the place that the experiences of silent worship occupied in the mental life of Fox himself, and why he found this form of what is technically called mysticism a valuable feature of his religious consciousness. This study will bring us into somewhat closer contact with the mental complications of a remarkable personality—a personality in which the normal and the abnormal were in a very interesting way united. We shall see how certain tendencies that, in another context, would have proved highly dangerous to the sanity of their possessor were so combined in Fox that the ultimate result was prevailingly good, both for himself and for his environment. Religious history contains many instances where men whose mental life showed numerous abnormal traits still were so constituted that they retained their essential self-control and accomplished a great work. The study of Fox presents one more such instance, and may also possess genuine psychological interest.

Since my discussion deals with Fox as a mystic, I shall first have to explain what one technically means by mysticism in relig-

ion. Then I shall have to show that Fox had many traits which were not those of the typical mystic. And, finally, I shall try to point out what part Fox's mystical tendencies played in determining certain aspects of his mind and of his career.

I

By a mystic in religion or in any department of life, many mean, somewhat vaguely, one who pretends to the possession of extraordinary power to know spiritual mysteries, or to control or predict fortune by supernatural means. Thus various superstitions are often spoken of as forms or instances of mysticism. So the trusting person who seeks intercourse with his dead friends at an ordinary Spiritualistic séance is sometimes called a mystic. Sometimes the word is applied to believers in telepathy, or to people who consult fortune-tellers, or who employ any sort of divination, or even to credulous purchasers of astrological almanacs. The term, thus employed, is too loosely and widely applied to suggest any useful meaning. For, from this point of view, every form of primitive religion would include many elements of mysticism. And only those would not be mystics who abandoned making any practical use of their supposed relations with a supernatural world, and who abandoned any belief in their power to know about such a world. Everybody who is sufficiently civilized to conceive of a contrast between nature and the supernatural admits that there is something extraordinary in the establishment of close relations with the supernatural world. Seers, prophets, wonder-workers, magicians, medicine-men, devotees of all sorts, in so far as they are intelligent enough to conceive of the ordinary life of plain men as a dealing with nature, regard either themselves as extraordinary persons or their glimpses of what others do not see as extraordinary incidents in their experience. And thus, from this point of view, mysticism would come to include nearly all forms of superstition and also of the higher historical religions. But for the common elements of all these sorts of faith and practice we have names enough, without using the term "mysticism." The term itself, originally employed with reference to the Greek Mysteries, threatened indeed at one

time to become a name for all knowledge or practice that involved any sort of technical initiation or even apprenticeship. But in religious history it has been especially associated with certain great names, and has been used to denote certain famous doctrines whose common features suggest a decidedly narrower use of the word than the vague one just illustrated. And to this narrower usage I think it best to try to confine our term.

The greater religious teachers who have been most known as mystics are, in European history, first, the characteristic representatives of the Neoplatonic school; then, certain noted mediaeval and modern religious reformers and instructors who were of a more or less completely orthodox reputation in their communions (whether these communions were Catholic or Protestant); and, finally, a good many confessedly unorthodox sectarians and independent believers. Common to all these more notable and typical mystics, whatever their creed may otherwise be, is a persuasion that, through certain exercises, or by means of special supernatural influences, or, generally, through a combination of both, the properly disposed soul can attain a state in which it becomes immediately aware of the Absolute Truth, immediately acquainted with God, or with whatever else the ultimate reality or the highest truth is declared to be by the individual mystic. In this state of mystical illumination the typical mystic reports that he becomes one with the Absolute, and that he knows this ultimate truth, not by reasoning, nor yet as one knows ordinary objects by the senses, but through a direct interior revelation, through becoming simply one with the object known. The mystic knowledge is consequently sharply distinguished, by the reports of all the typical mystics, from every other form of insight. It not only acquaints them, so they say, with another grade of Being than that which either reason or sense ever displays to men, but it also acquaints them with this absolute object in a wholly unique fashion, namely, by an immediate presence of the object which is nowhere else possible in case of any knowing process. Thus the mystic knowledge is often characterized as something beyond all definite consciousness. It must be portrayed to the vulgar in negative terms, together with but one positive predicate, viz., that it is *better*, or is *higher*,

than all other knowledge, or is *beyond, above, more precious,* than whatever else is called knowledge. Thus the object known by the typical mystic is, like the mystical state itself, something quite ineffable and indescribable. One must say of this object that it has *none* of the predicates that ordinary beings possess. And so far one's account of it is indeed wholly negative. The mystics, who love paradoxes, enjoy baffling common sense by emphasizing this their "negative theology." Their ultimate is what common sense would call nothing at all. The typical mystics not only admit this fact, but they glory in it. For this nameless unity, this formless glory, which common sense finds to be nothing, they find to be the source of all things, the ground and reality of whatever exists, the most real and ultimate of truths. And this positive attribute they assign to their Absolute for a reason which they try to articulate thus: This object of the mystic insight is *above, is beyond, is higher than, is better than, is ineffably superior* to, every finite being, because it possesses in a transcendent degree that which all imperfect beings are, so to speak, trying to possess, namely, finality and perfection. Hence in its perfection the object of the mystic knowledge possesses all the attributes of the God of the faithful.

Historically, this doctrine of the typical mystics is not limited to the confines of Christianity, nor to the wider territory within which not only Christianity proper but also its offshooting sects and heresies, as well as the Neoplatonic doctrines have flourished. Mysticism, under other names, developed some of its most typical forms in India, its probable birthplace. The prevailing doctrine of those ancient scriptures called the Upanishads is a form of mysticism. The philosophical school known as the Vedanta gave mysticism its completest technical expression, not as a mere phase of religious experience, but as the culminating doctrine of a system of metaphysics. Some typical forms of mysticism have also prospered in certain ages and sects of the Mohammedan world.

On the whole, despite the number and variety of these typical mystics, many of them agree in certain mental traits sufficiently to make them constitute a sort of psychological type. What interests us in the notable mystics is, first, the fact that they unite,

in surprising ways, high and even critical intelligence with great and sometimes abnormally strong emotional tendencies. Secondly, with their emotional life they often combine, in rather paradoxical fashion, strongly sensuous traits, such as are shown in their frequent fondness for extremely sensuous metaphorical language, with a marked asceticism of life and doctrine. And, thirdly, they often join their fondness for strange and unpractical emotional experiences, for passive rapture, for abnormal inner concentration, with great skill, calm objectivity, and strenuousness in carrying on their life-work. Extravagant mystics have sometimes been good leaders of religious orders, effective managers of complex organizations or of worldly affairs.

If such is the essence, the historical place, and some of the psychological interest of the typical mysticism, we are naturally puzzled to see why so paradoxical a teaching should have led captive so many noble minds. For the typical mystics, while they include many simple-minded or even superstitious folk, also comprise amongst their number many decidedly ingenious, acute, and philosophical thinkers. In fact, the mystical philosophers, for instance the Vedantists, Plotinus, Eckhart, and even Spinoza, are often found to be amongst the most technical and critical inquirers, at least in all subjects not too directly connected with their mystical experience. Moreover, since the mystics are often lofty characters and powerful leaders, one cannot attribute their absorption in their vision of the Absolute to mere narrowness or poverty of inner life.

And so the mystic seems to be, on the one hand, paradoxical, credulous, adoring an empty vision which he calls an immediate knowledge of ultimate truth; while on the other hand he shows himself to be, by the wealth of his nature, the earnestness of his piety, and—in case of the principal philosophical mystics—by the ingenuity of his thinking processes, a person of whom the impartial critic would have expected better things. Why then, such a critic asks, does the mystic suppose the experiences of his trance, the mere nothingness of which his ecstasy makes him dimly aware, to be a revelation of ultimate truth?

This is no place to estimate the philosophical value of mysticism. But I venture to point out what I take to be the main

reason why the typical mystic conceives himself to be able, in his trance, to become directly acquainted with the Absolute.

The typical mystic, then, is, first, a person who has become convinced, through his religious faith or through his processes of thinking, that God, or the Absolute Truth, by whatever name that truth is called, possesses a perfection, a goodness, and a completeness and unity, which do not exist in any object of our ordinary experience or discursive thought. So far we have a perfectly normal form of religious conviction. Our typical mystic is, secondly, a person who longs and hopes to get some sort of close communion with God, so that he himself, and not another, shall view the Truth as it is in itself. This hope and this desire may indeed seem bold to the unsympathetic critic; but they are at least human enough to be, by themselves, quite intelligible incidents of piety. Now, thirdly, in the course of his religious exercises or of his philosophical reflections, the typical mystic observes that when, with his thoughts fixed upon the divine things in which he already believes, he abandons himself to the contemplation of them, and so forgets the things of outer sense and the fragmentary truths of ordinary discursive thought, he assumes more and more a certain inner state of delightful contemplation, while conflict and complexity give place to peace. All this happens because, since divine things are conceived as good, one delights in them; and, since God is conceived as One, the man who thus steadfastly contemplates him loses sight of all variety; while, since God is perfect and all-powerful, to meditate upon him is to dwell upon that against which nothing can contend and which is therefore in perfect peace. Now as one centralizes one's consciousness about these associations connected with unity, simplicity, perfection, peace, and joy, the result is twofold. First, it is, as to the concrete objects of contemplation, principally negative, because the typical mystic carefully avoids thinking of distracting varieties. Hence he dwells upon whatever is *not* one of God's mere creatures. Thus far he is, indeed, dwelling upon what common sense, which only takes account of creatures, calls nothing. Secondly, however, the nearer the mystic comes to dwelling upon no concrete object at all, the surer he feels that he is contemplating that which, by

its attributes of goodness, unity, and peace, is rendered far higher than all the concrete objects which he is forsaking. For to the mystic the unity thus approached is God. Thus the mystic is progressing toward a wilderness where nothing is to be found by mortal sense, and yet he is sure that in this wilderness is to be found the home of his soul, the very God whom he set out to seek.

Now the limit of this mental process, in the mystic's experience, is a state of consciousness in which nothing at all is present. Towards this limit he constantly strives. But since every step toward this goal leads toward that which is, by hypothesis, higher than the more complex objects of any previous stage, and so is a step nearer to God, the mystic, through a pleasing fallacy, familiar to all students of the doctrine of limits, easily supposes that whenever that limit is reached, and whenever the Nothing is consequently faced, God, the all-perfect, must thereby become known. Hence the object of the mystic's trance is to him divine, while for all who are not in such a trance it is indeed nothing. The mystic is confirmed in his belief by the fact that, as he approaches the ultimate state, his joy is more untroubled, just because all thoughts of variety, of problems, of complexities, are vanishing. Hence, in knowing the Absolute that is also nothing, the mystic holds that he must obtain the satisfaction of desire, the perfect peace. He must, therefore, have become one with the Absolute Good.

So much for some indication of the nature of the typical mysticism, and for a hint as to why it has seemed persuasive even to very critical thinkers, and still more to uncritically devout souls who have been in search of the presence of God.

II

I now turn directly to Fox, and shall try to show in what sense there was a mystical trait in him. We shall find that mysticism, although but an auxiliary element, was still an indispensable part of his character. Had George Fox been known to his fellow-men chiefly as a mystic, he would have been less influential, and might have been soon forgotten. Even his mysticism became

as influential as it was over other men's lives because it was but a part of his strength. What made him historically important was his practical work as a leader of men, as an organizer of religious communities, as a social reformer, and as a consistent expounder and exemplar of one of the principal ideals that resulted from the English Reformation. This was the ideal of a spiritual unity of all men, to be established apart from outward formality, and to be sustained solely by voluntary conformity.

Still, this ideal was closely connected, in the personal experience of Fox, with a form of religious consciousness akin to that known in history by the name of mysticism. Yet Fox, as we shall see, was not a typical mystic. And, in fact, just the difference between his experience and that of the typical mystics proves to be the feature of his religious life which was most in his favor as an effective teacher. For since he was no poet and no speculative thinker, since he was neither possessed of a richly sensuous imagination nor fond of long continued unpractical contemplation, his experiences in the mystical realm, important as they proved to be for his life, would have meant little to him or to others, had they not always been swiftly translated into terms of humane activity. Other mystics have written words that people treasure for their own sake as pure literature, or as speculative illumination, or as emotional inspiration; but what Fox wrote was meant to guide his followers in their tasks and in the problems of their generation, and was bare of all adornment save that which its fervent practical spirit inevitably produced. Even his *Journal*, detailed as its record of personal experience is, is written rather as the soldier records his campaigns than as the typical mystic tells of that wondrous journey which he believes leads Godwards. "That all may know," so Fox begins his *Journal*, "the dealings of the Lord with me, and the various exercises, trials, and troubles through which he led me, in order to prepare and fit me for the work unto which he had appointed me, . . . I think fit, before I proceed to set forth my public travels in the service of truth, briefly to mention how it was with me in my youth."

One sees, even in these opening words of the *Journal*, the

epitome of his life as he himself surveyed it. The Lord had wrought it; but what the Lord had meant was "to prepare and fit" him "for the work"; and the dealings of the Lord with him in his youth were a preliminary to his true career, namely, to the "public travels in the service of truth." One must always remember these "public travels" and the constant, intimate, and varied social relations which they involved, whenever one is dwelling upon the inner life of Fox. In his youth, Fox knew a good deal about what spiritual solitude meant; but he never revelled in such solitude for its own sake as the typical mystics do. On the contrary, until he found the way out of it he was ill at ease. He was perfectly capable of meeting God "in the bush," and was always very sure that God dwells not in temples made with hands; but he had no wish to avoid "the mart and the crowded street," provided only that he could utter his testimony in the presence of his fellows; and he obviously preferred to look for God in the Meeting, side by side with his brethren. The religion of Fox was thus a very insistently social religion, in which solitude was an incident, not a goal. His strong spirit needed no isolation to secure inner peace. Contemplation was compatible with work; and the Light was still with him in the company of his Friends.

Now these things, as I have said, are not wholly characteristic of the typical mystics. The latter too have often been reformers, or men and women of considerable social activity. But in general they tend to a certain primary separation of the outer and the inner man, of the works of charity and the illuminations of the Spirit, to a sundering of the contemplation of God and the service of the world. They try, indeed, to bridge over this division of their life, to reunite their mysticism with their duty as members of religious orders, or as teachers and reformers. Some of them succeed in such a reconciliation of the opposing forces. But usually the peace that passeth all understanding makes their daily business seem a little shadowy to them, while their hearts are with God, the Ineffable, and with his moveless rest that lies beyond all finitude. Fox, however, despite his many contradictory traits, knows nothing of just this sort of division of spirit. His God is not only the ocean of light, but also the counsellor of

deeds. And even the Light, Fox praises not merely for its purity, but for what it enables him to discern.

George Fox was born in 1624, in Leicestershire, the son of a weaver, and died in January, 1691, at the age of sixty-six. His mature life was one of great activity in the service of his cause, the cause of early Quakerism. At eight distinct times he suffered considerable periods of imprisonment for the sake of his religious faith and practice. He wrote extensively, labored hard in organizing the various communities of Friends both in England and abroad, and for many years was almost constantly engaged, so far as his health permitted, in attending meetings, in travelling, and in writing his epistles to his brethren. The trials and strains of this life, and especially the hardships endured in the wretched jails of his time, wore heavily upon his constitution. He aged early; and in the latter part of his life was much beset by illnesses. We thus have considerable means of judging how far he was originally a man of sound brain, since the events of his life severely tested his sanity; and we can face with some prospect of success the question which should precede the study of his mysticism, namely, the question how far Fox shows signs of the nervous and mental instability which are so often found in people of extraordinary religious experience. The result of an examination of the main facts may first be so stated as to indicate at once wherein lay the unquestionable strength of our reformer. Fox's most characteristic religious activities, as a mature man, were consistent, humane, and free from most of the extravagances to which the troubles of the age, the enthusiasm of his followers, and even some of his own beliefs, constantly tempted him. The social state of England was then most dangerous, since persecution, controversy, changing forms of faith and government, and fanatical sectarianism prevailed. Yet on the whole Fox learned to live and to work in this social atmosphere with increasing mental steadiness, with essentially calm self-control, and with effectiveness. He learned to avoid, as time went on, some of his earlier mistakes. He grew more objective, more influential, stronger in soul. He joined authority of bearing with the steady determination to frown down the more violently intolerant tendencies of his day. He was indeed a stern controversialist; but he kept

his hostilities under the strict control of his Quaker principles. His own attitude toward the problems of his sect was always objective. He joined great self-assurance with real freedom from any disposition to self-aggrandizement. His emotional life, in spite of painful vicissitudes, remained relatively calm. In his maturer years his mental distresses seem to have been largely caused by sympathy with the misfortunes of his brethren. Despite his natural vehemence of speech, he was relatively uncomplaining as to his personal griefs. Despite physical weakness, he labored diligently to the end.

So far we have the picture of the saner aspect of his nature which predominated in his social activities. But in contrast with this picture we must record some decided mental anomalies. They are of sorts well known in religious history; but, as they were combined in Fox, they are often decidedly hard to estimate.

We have to judge of these anomalous aspects of Fox's character very largely upon the basis of his own reports. It is well, therefore, to try to get first an impression of some of his most general traits, both as shown in his career and in his writings. These general traits will not in themselves constitute his more anomalous tendencies. But we may better judge the value of his more special accounts of his experience, and may also understand why his reports must leave us in doubt as to certain very interesting questions, when we have first seen, apart from his more doubtful peculiarities, what manner of man, on the whole, he was.

First, then, a word as to Fox's mode of life. As a child, still more as a youth, he was very serious-minded, always deeply interested in religious problems, and always, according to his years, undoubtedly sober and discreet in conduct. There was in his youth no period of wild living or of impiety. There was—and this is very notable—no crisis of conversion. Fox's period of youthful doubt and distress was almost wholly filled with problems regarding his mission from the Lord and regarding the relief of the very evil state in which he saw other people living. He was early concerned with the problem of salvation; but his distress or despair was more connected with the salvation of his countrymen than with that of his own soul. His religious,

and in fact his entire education depended upon the reading of his English Bible. Like his countryman and contemporary, John Bunyan, he was a typical product of this time of intense enthusiasm for religious reform, when earnest men, ignorant like himself of all technical erudition, and let loose, so to speak, without any control but their Bible and their own consciences, struggled with the problems of Christianity as if no historical church had ever existed to define a traditional faith and practice, and believed themselves as near as were the Apostles to the sources of divine guidance. Fox, like many others of his time, had no interest in life that was not directly colored by his religious fervor. From early manhood on he was constantly engaged in discussing passages of Scripture, in criticising religious beliefs and practices, in counselling his fellows, in taking part in religious exercises, in planning religious activities. His life, as we have seen, early became that of the wandering preacher. His travels were actually very extensive.

In view of this wandering and unworldly nature of his career, we should now note that Fox was nevertheless always careful of his small, yet, for one of his frugal habits, apparently sufficient store of money. He often mentions how he paid, or offered to pay, for what he needed on his journeys. Nobody, so far as I know, ever accused him of unfairness in the use of money. Yet he never seems to have been in actual need, although he earned nothing by his work as a preacher, except in so far as he made use of the free hospitality offered by Friends to a traveling preacher. He always vehemently condemned the practice of the State clergy in preaching for hire. His practice in this matter surely agreed with his preaching. We do not know the source of his small income, though at first his parents seem to have supplied him with some money. What we know is that he was as economical and careful as he was unworldly. When, quite late in life, he married a widow of means and position, he insisted in advance upon a settlement which placed her property beyond his control, and which fully protected the rights of her children. He was always scrupulously honest.

But, in connection with this choice of the life of the wandering preacher, we next come upon a trait of Fox's character which is

central, and which his biographers do not always emphasize as I do, in my efforts to understand the man. Fox belongs to what some students of character like to call the "motor" type of personality. He is, so far as his purely external fashion of behavior is concerned, a notably active, restless, or perhaps I should say an unresting, type of man. This aspect of his character is all the more interesting in view of its contrast with the vein of mysticism of which we are soon to speak. It is also interesting because of its further contrast with his marked seasons of strange physical weakness and other signs of invalidism. Of course Fox himself is not wholly aware of the nature of this trait of motor restlessness in his character. Yet page after page of his lengthy diary illustrates it. Fox supposes his wanderings to be wholly for the service of the Lord. It is plain to the reader that he learned to serve the Lord in this way largely because his temperament forbade him to stay long in any one place. An unsympathetic reader might be tempted to view his first recorded travels as symptoms of a youthful tendency to vagabondage. During his period of religious unrest, before he discovered his mission, his lonely journeys were, indeed, in outward seeming, so aimless as to suggest the presence of some deeper defect in his nature. Yet even these wanderings were determined not so much by painful emotion as by the mere necessity of movement and of action. Fox at first—so he tells his story—seeks among the people whom he later disapprovingly calls "the priests and professors" for light on religious problems. He goes from place to place upon this quest. Nobody gives him satisfactory guidance. So he wanders unrestingly further. Sometimes he seems merely to be looking, as if in a forest of doubts, for some undefined supernatural aid. But sometimes he strives toward a more definite goal. For as a youth he is curious to go and see whether any one can be found who has any new light upon religious truth. Thus, as he narrates, once during this early period he learns of a fasting woman whose supposed supernatural powers have attracted attention. He decides that he must seek her out. He sees her; but in a very characteristic fashion he reacts to her presence by forthwith "discerning," as he says, that hers is not the right sort of religious life. So

he tells her what he "has from the Lord" for her, and goes his way.

But this quick response to situations, this eager willingness to go any distance to gain an end, this readiness for brisk motor activity, does not leave Fox with his youth. It remains to mould his whole career. It helps him to administrative deeds of much importance for the later and more organized stages of the life of the Quaker society. Meanwhile it often appears in ways that surprise his intimates. Once in later years, when he was ill, and his friends believed him dying, he rises suddenly from his bed, as we shall soon see from his own account, and demands a coach to go and visit a friend, twelve miles away, who is really dying. He is never content to settle permanently in a single community. In the course of his life he visits all parts of England. He wanders to Scotland, to Ireland, and even to America. His example makes of all the early Quaker teachers a remarkably wandering community. Of course, circumstances and the needs of the time determine much of this wandering. But Fox's temperament is deeper than all circumstances. Were he an angel in heaven, he would prefer a missionary expedition into the deeps to an eternity of rest in the beatific vision. And so it is no wonder that those experiences of direct supernatural revelations which he called his "openings" are especially impulses to action, motor "automatisms," which Fox cultivated with an insistence that would unquestionably have proved very perilous to a weaker brain than his.

One other general trait of Fox's mind may still be mentioned before going on to more special matters. This is the very great extent and detail of his memory for events, and of his interest in such social and personal matters as had directly to do with his life-work. Much of his so-called Journal is plainly written some time after the events which he narrates. Yet the great multitude of incidents, the care in stating the precise order in which journeys, meetings, sermons, interviews, and the like, occurred, and the conscientious effort for accuracy of report, show Fox's mind to be one for which a sober and minute, and obviously laborious, record of his daily work had great interest. The general tone of the diary is, as we shall soon see, mainly objective.

That is, Fox, despite his sense of the importance of his religious mission, has a very wholesome freedom from any exaggerated sort of self-consciousness.

From these general features of Fox's character, we turn to more special facts that characterize him. We have already said that this unresting and patient worker, humane, benevolent, and effective as he was, suffered frequently from illnesses. Some of these have a psychological interest. Taken by themselves, as Fox reports them, they would give us a very different view of the man from any that we have yet obtained in this account. I cannot tell what caused these illnesses, or how they would have appeared to an expert observer. Fox records them in his Journal. But of their nature he knew only what his consciousness and his memory told him—necessarily an unscientific knowledge. We note, however, that his memory of some of these illnesses was decidedly fuller and clearer than of others.

At the age of twenty, as Fox tells us in his Journal, and during a very critical period of his religious development: "A great work of the Lord fell upon me, to the admiration of many, who thought I had been dead; and many came to see me about fourteen days. For I was very much altered in countenance and person, as if my body had been new moulded or changed. While I was in that condition, I had a sense and discerning given me by the Lord, through which I saw plainly that when many people talked of God and Christ, etc., the serpent spoke in them; but this was hard to be borne." Another and less mysteriously described attack, which Fox also refers to a mental cause, is recorded in 1659, when Fox was thirty-five years of age. The political troubles of the time and the sympathetic distresses caused by the persecutions of Quakers are here assigned as the occasions of Fox's trouble. "After awhile," he says in his Journal, "I went to Reading, where I remained under great sufferings and exercises, and in great travail of spirit for about ten weeks. For I saw there was great confusion and distraction amongst the people, and that the powers were plucking each other to pieces. . . . While I was under that sore travail at Reading, by reason of grief and sorrow of mind, and the great exercise that was upon my spirit, my countenance being altered, and my body

became poor and thin." Hereupon, as Fox tells us, certain "unclean spirits" (that is, certain evil-minded people living in that town) came to him and told him that the plagues of God were upon him. Fox vigorously repudiated this interpretation of his state, and, after he had "travailed with the witness of God," he came, through further spiritual exercises, "to have ease." "And then," he continues, "having recovered, my body and face swelled when I came abroad into the air. Then the bad spirit said, 'I was grown fat,' and they envied at that also. So I saw that no condition nor state would please that spirit of theirs; but the Lord preserved me by his power and spirit through and over all; and in the Lord's power I came to London again."

In 1670, when Fox was forty-six years old, there occurred another illness wherein the mental aspect is prominent. By this time his constitution had suffered heavily in consequence of imprisonments, and several serious illnesses whose physical causes were obvious enough in the unwholesome surroundings of prisons, had preceded the present attack. He records his experience as follows:—

The next day we passed towards Rochester. And on the way, as I was walking down a hill, a great weight and oppression fell upon my spirit. I got my horse again; but the weight remained so heavy on me that I was hardly able to ride. At length we came to Rochester; but I was much spent, being so extremely loaden and burdened with the world's spirits [that is, with trouble about the persecution of Friends] that my life was oppressed under them. I got with difficulty to Gravesend, and lay at an inn there, but could hardly either eat or sleep. The next day . . . John Stubbs and I went over the ferry into Essex. We came to Horn Church, where was a meeting on the first day. After the meeting I rode with great uneasiness to Stratford, to a Friend's whose name was Williams. . . . Here I lay exceeding weak, and at last lost both my hearing and my sight. Several Friends came to me from London. I told them, "I should be as a sign to such as would not see, and such as would not hear the truth." In this condition I continued a pretty while. Several came about me; and though I could not see their persons, I felt and discerned their spirits, who of them was honest-hearted, and who was not. Divers Friends, who practised physic, would have given me medicines; but I was not to meddle with any; for I was

sensible I had a travail to go through; and therefore spoke to Friends, to let none but solid weighty Friends be about me. Under great sufferings, groanings, travails, sorrows, and oppressions I lay for several weeks; whereby I was brought so low and weak in body that few thought I could live.

Fox's death was, he tells us, actually reported at this time in London. But he himself viewed his case all the while as not dangerous to life; for he was aware that the Lord's power was supporting him. After a time he recovered "a little glimmering sight," and hereupon rose from his bed and insisted upon being carried to see a dying Friend, one Gerard Amor, whom he greatly consoled. Thereafter Fox remained at Enfield, in a very weak state, all the winter. As his quoted words indicate, he interpreted this whole illness as a divinely sent spiritual experience. All through the following winter he was "warring in spirit with the evil spirits of the world that warred against truth and Friends. For there were great persecutions at this time." In some way he thus connected his illness with the need that he should inwardly struggle in order to bear his share of the burdens of his persecuted brethren, and so help them. His pain was lightened by inward visions of the state of the New Jerusalem, within which, as he insists, "all who are within the light of Christ" already dwell; "the gates whereof stand open all the day (for there is no night there) that all may come in." "After some time," says Fox, "it pleased the Lord to allay this violent persecution" (namely, that which the Friends were suffering); "and I felt in spirit an overcoming of the spirits of those man-eaters that had stirred it up, and carried it on to that height of cruelty, though I was outwardly very weak. And I plainly felt, and those Friends that were with me, and that came to visit me, took notice, that, as the persecution ceased, I came from under the travails and sufferings which had laid with such weight upon me; so that towards spring I began to recover, and to walk up and down, beyond the expectation of many."

Such cases as these seem to show that Fox was occasionally subject to somewhat lengthy attacks, in which spiritual troubles, usually of a highly humane and sympathetic character, were associated with nervous disturbances, which, at least once, in-

cluded the temporary loss of hearing and of sight. The attacks were attended with great prostration, with altered nutrition, and with the belief that his countenance was profoundly changed in a way that attracted much attention. He understood that at least twice those near him at such times had thought him either dead or very near death. While his consciousness at those times was usually depressed, he had some memory, and sometimes a very clear memory, of how he had felt. During such times he had at least intervals of a strong sense of heightened discernment, which seemed to him of a more or less clairvoyant or telepathic character. These attacks came on, as it appears, slowly, with gradually increasing weakness. They passed away without any periods of excitement. In spite of nervous depression, Fox experienced no change in his usual views of life or of his mission. The attacks were painful, but brought no despair.

Next, Fox was subject, throughout his career, to strong intuitions, to experiences which he always viewed as immediate revelations from the Lord, in brief, to what he called "openings." In estimating these experiences, we must of course remember that, as a man whose whole education was obtained from the English Bible, Fox was, by essentially normal processes of reasoning, convinced, as were thousands of devout souls in his day, that the properly prepared worshipper should be able to receive the Lord's direct guidance. Fox, as is well known, held that this guidance ought to be just as direct, and on occasion just as detailed and authoritative, as that given to the ancient prophets and apostles. This tenet was an essential article of that "everlasting gospel" which he daily preached, and this same tenet became one of the most characteristic of the beliefs of the Quakers. As a fact, therefore, Fox did not regard himself as peculiarly privileged among men by reason of his "openings"; but he rather held that the power to receive such direct revelations is a universal test of piety. He used this test in his controversies: If Christ dwells in you, he helps you, even in your daily business. And if you can get no sign of such direct help, then you are no true Christian. This is Fox's doctrine; and he reaches it by what are, on his presuppositions, perfectly normal, even though mistaken, processes of argument. His personal revelations must of course

be judged accordingly. As to their contents, Fox's "openings" take the form, first, of comforting, or inspiring, or prophetic inner visions. These are described, in general, in no very vivid or plastic way, so far as the merely sensuous imagery is concerned. I suspect that they were often rather felt or verbally supplemented than visualized with any great detail. Hallucinations of vision appear in his case mostly in the form of mere color and light visions. But, secondly, the more important and constantly recurrent of Fox's "openings" are not these inner visions, but assume rather a more directly motor form as impulses to action. Fox "has it from the Lord" that he shall do thus or thus. Or it is "given to him" to speak this or that. The general importance of this motor aspect of Fox's character, the prevalence of decisions, of confident activities, is thus extensively illustrated.

Still a third type of the "openings" we find in what Fox calls a "discerning" of truths. What he thus "discerns" is in general something of practical importance. He is, for instance, a "discerner of spirits," and knows at a glance the inmost characters of the people whom he meets; and to his actual skill in this respect some of his most celebrated brethren later bore witness in their obituary testimonies. Some of his inner visions express other of his discernments. He has, as we saw, prophetic visions, occasionally attended with simple visual hallucinations of light or of color. But these visions usually relate to important political, social, or religious crises, and warn or otherwise guide him. In general, these "discerning" processes show him the contrasts of things, enable him to tell good from evil, to expose false teachers, refute disputants, and the like.

Some of the "openings," in the fourth place, take the form of voices. "I heard a voice say," he occasionally tells us. But, on the whole, one may doubt whether these voices often had the character of true auditory hallucinations. They appear, in general, more like those interior voices whose mental material consists rather of motor speech imagery than of words vividly heard.

If one considers the various sorts of "openings" together, one finds that, even in their most pronounced forms, they usually keep nearer to the boundary of the normal than one might at

first be disposed to think. For, whatever their contents, their meaning is usually humane, benevolent, objective, and commonly in perfectly reasonable relation to Fox's life-work. They are indeed automatisms that, in a weaker brain, would have tended toward the systematizing of delusions. But in the context of Fox's life they acquired, and on the whole kept, a decidedly sane bearing upon his general plans; and that he made so much of them, and believed in them so steadfastly, is due quite as much to his theology and to his education as to their own character.¹

It remains, in this sketch of Fox's mental type, to notice one very important contrast between his experiences and those of many other religiously-minded persons. It is common, in the history of religious struggles, to meet with the experiences of those who are of the general type of the ordinary anxious, nervous invalid. Such may be people of genius, as was, for instance, Fox's contemporary, Bunyan. They may gain enough self-control to triumph finally over their ills. But their story, while it lasts, is always very different from that of Fox. The ordinary nervous sufferer, the victim of a sensitive heredity, or of an overstrain, or of both, first of all suffers from various masses of abnormal sensations and feelings, and then defines his practical prob-

¹ There is indeed one exceptional automatism which occurred during Fox's youth, and which has suggested to many critics a graver interpretation. This is his famous act of walking barefoot through the city of Lichfield, by the command of the Lord, crying, "Woe! Woe! to the bloody city of Lichfield." This has often been regarded as a peculiarly insane expression of excitement, because there was no discoverable objective ground for the act. I regard the incident as intelligible enough in the context of Fox's early life, although it was indeed pathological. But its pathological significance appears less when we remember the time, and Fox's training in automatisms, and finally his relatively normal grounds for feeling confidence in any of his "openings." Fox had just been released from his year's imprisonment at Derby. His temperament was restless, and his long confinement must have been extremely irritating. After such a release from prison the ordinary youthful convict plunges into some vicious excess. But Fox gave vent to his long imprisoned motor tendencies by this otherwise useless outburst. It was indeed plainly no normal incident. But it was less abnormal than might at first appear. The sight of the church steeples in Lichfield first stirred up hostile feelings in Fox's mind. He then felt a restless sense that something must be done—something vigorous, intense, significant. Then came a state of confusion, then an automatism to which Fox himself could assign no coherent intent, and then the final outburst. Relieved by yielding to his strange impulse, Fox forthwith became calm; and, by chance, no such incident ever occurred again.

lems in terms of his sufferings. He is therefore chiefly anxious about himself. He habitually consults friends or physicians in the hope of personal relief. He is, as Bunyan once said, "loathe to perish." His life becomes the drama of the captive seeking escape from his prison-house. But his dungeon is his own soul. His captor is his own fear. Accordingly, he becomes elaborately introspective, is expert in his own sorrows, analyzes their supposed sources, and studies his own psychology, vainly, perhaps, but devotedly. He sometimes consults his adviser with his own written notes in his hands, lest he should let some of the precious details of his case escape his own memory. He finds it hard that his adviser grows weary of his tale. His fears are most characteristic of his state, even though his fears are shadowy. Most of all, he fears himself.

Now if such a chronic sufferer, who may indeed be a genius, wins peace through his tribulations, and then, like Bunyan, undertakes to tell you about the outcome, he shows an elaborate skill in introspection which his sufferings have entailed. Bunyan's *Grace Abounding* is as transparent a confession as could be made. No essential detail that an uncultivated patient's consciousness could have perceived escapes notice. Bunyan knows nothing of psychology, and profoundly misinterprets the causes of his troubles; but his confession is a monument of untrained introspective skill; and to understand him you only need to listen to him sympathetically.

Quite otherwise is it with Fox. He never writes as the ordinary nervous invalid would. He suffers, but always about objective matters—about his practical problems and his external misfortunes. He makes no elaborate problem out of his mere suffering. He is, even in the struggles of his youth, comparatively little concerned about himself. He has few fears, and no deeper sense of guilt. During illness, death is the least of his concerns. His enemy is always outside of him, in the evil of the world, in the common foe of mankind. He has none of the ordinary nervous invalid's hesitancies. He always knows what to do. He consults no one, after he has once learned how useless the "priests" are. He has no conviction of sin, no crisis of conversion, no change of heart. Bodily weakness never abates his wholesome

self-consciousness. Accordingly, however, he is poor at introspection. He scrutinizes little the nature, the conditions, the sources, of his "openings." He knows that they are from the Lord, and that is enough. All the harder is it for us to read between the lines of the Autobiography, and learn the true psychological character of his experiences. There is no intentional concealment, but he speaks in parables. He is clear about his business and about the outer world, and he means to be frank about himself. But, since his inner spiritual exercises are from the Lord, he does not need to trace the intricacies of their origin or of their vicissitudes, as the ordinary nervous invalid would try to do. He reports the truth that the Lord has "opened" to him. That is enough. Now you see at once what the practical problem of such a nature must be. The right source of self-control must be found, the right refuge from the danger of mental chaos.

III

In following the experiences of Fox as indications of his mental constitution, we have thus at length reached the boundary where begins the truly mystical realm of his experience. Yet all that has preceded has been needful for the understanding of this realm. The "openings" are, psychologically speaking, mere automatisms, and are not of themselves sufficient to ally Fox to the great historical mystics of whom I earlier spoke. I therefore portrayed at such length the essential elements of the religious experience of those typical mystics, that we might differentiate their type from the type of the mere believers in supernatural intimations such as we have considered in Fox's case. Yet it is true that without considering Fox's "openings" we could not understand his mysticism, in so far as he was something of a mystic. It is true that most of the typical mystics had their own kind and degrees of what Fox called "openings." But closely as the two sorts of religious phenomena were connected in Fox's case and in many others, the "openings" and the central mystical consciousness are decidedly different sorts of mental facts. I have therefore dwelt upon both classes of facts sepa-

rately as a preparation for showing how they were joined in Fox.

In addition to the special "openings," the automatism now characterized, Fox possessed a consciousness of the presence of the divine which was a central feature in what he calls the "Light"; namely, in that Light which he believed to be the most precious possession of all believers. The characterization of this Light is now needed to complete our portrayal of Fox's religious tendencies. And we find this Light to be an element in strong contrast to the features thus far emphasized, yet one that for the first time gives unity to what might otherwise have been chaotic. Like all great natures, Fox was able to harmonize apparently conflicting traits. This unresting soul, whose body so constantly, and as it were automatically, wandered, and whose voluntary and rational labors were always strenuous, had, besides its strenuousness, quite another virtue amongst its most prominent ideals. This is a virtue that the Friends from the first learned to emphasize. Its nature is suggested by phrases that constantly recur in Fox's many epistles to Friends and to those whom he hoped to convert. Let us cite an instance or two of this phraseology:—

To his parents Fox wrote, in 1652: "To that of God in you both I speak, and do beseech you both, for the Lord's sake, to return within, and wait to hear the voice of the Lord there; and waiting there, and keeping close to the Lord, a discerning will grow, that ye may distinguish the voice of the stranger when ye hear it." In the same year, in epistles to Friends, one finds such expressions as these:

To you all, dear friends, who have tasted of the immediate working power of the Lord, and do find an alteration in your minds, and do see from whence virtue doth come, and strength that doth renew the inward man, and doth refresh you; which draws you in love to forsake the world, and that which hath form and beauty in it to the eye of the world . . . to you all I say, Wait upon God in that which is pure. Though you see little, and know little, and have little, and see your emptiness, and see your nakedness, and barrenness, and unfruitfulness . . . it is the Light that discovers all this, and the love of God to you, and it is that which is immediate; but

the dark understanding cannot comprehend it. So wait upon God in that which is pure. . . . And meeting and waiting in his power, which ye have received, in it all to improve your measure that God hath given you; for ye never improve your measure, so long as you rely upon any visible thing without you. . . . When your mind runs into anything outwardly, without the power, it covers and veils the pure in you.

Such words as these at once introduce us to a thought that is thus far new in our account. Yet all who are acquainted with Fox know how central it is amongst his thoughts. It is the thought that inspires and justifies silent worship. It stands, it would seem, in a very interesting contrast to that active and unresting side of Fox's nature which we have so far emphasized. When this wanderer sits in the meeting, he can become, for the time, apart from the need of serving his brethren, a Quietist. His chief word to express this attitude is the word *wait*, used as the Psalmist uses it when he says, "I waited patiently for God." This pious *waiting* is the other virtue of which I just spoke. And what Fox wins by waiting is a certain restful consciousness of the divine presence which he defines by the term the Light—a term henceforth embodied in the Quaker vocabulary. The term was not at all new, and it certainly was scriptural. But in this emphasized usage it was intended to be mystical. Another term for such experiences is the "immediate working power of the Lord," or, briefly, "the power." To win the consciousness of this power to the full, one must be passive. But when once "the power" has wrought its work in the soul, its influence can remain during one's activities; and then one's special revelations from the Lord appear as its manifestations.

This restless soul thus added to all its other virtues the willingness to wait. And it is the waiting, with its experiences, which allies Fox to the contemplative mystics. I said that Fox was able in this way to unite somewhat contradictory tendencies. As a fact, the union was in so far a compromise as the contemplation, in Fox's case, soon tended again towards action. The "Light" is constantly spoken of in his epistles as a source of "discernment." Yet, on the other hand, not only was the Light a direct consciousness of God's presence, but it had two further

features which ally it to the classical mysticism. The one of these features relates to the reason why Fox finds the consciousness of the Light so convincing, and so immediately a revelation of God. The other relates to the character which the Light revealed as the essentially divine character.

I previously explained why the typical mystics view their ultimate vision as the revelation of the Absolute. Now Fox shows little sign of having ever striven for the attainment of the ultimate vision of the typical mystics. But it is true that he often speaks of the vision of God as something unutterable in ordinary speech, although he does not speak of it as beyond consciousness, and although he thinks of it as a state of mind that every pious soul ought daily to have. But the reason why he is sure that his vision of God is a true one has often to be articulated when he rebukes the extravagances of the more wayward or disputatious members of his sect. This reason is that, in the moment when the Light shines, peace, unity, harmony, attainment, perfection, are present to the soul. Herein the consciousness of the Light differs from the previously mentioned automatisms. They are many. It is one. They, therefore, despite their subjective certainty, might be diabolical impulses instead of divine movings, if they did not visibly proceed from that unity and tend to lead others back to it. Hence the Light is indeed a discerner of good and evil tendencies, and as such Fox constantly extols it. Nobody can say, "I am aware that God's spirit moves me to do" this or this—for instance, to go to the wars—"and now my moving of the Spirit is as good, George Fox, as are your various intuitions and your many impulses that you have from the Lord." No, the special impulses are, after all, of a lower order of revelation than is the Light. They must be judged by its simplicity, by its harmony, by its peace. The One Spirit cannot counsel conflicting tendencies, cannot approve worldly desires, cannot countenance destructive or wayward automatisms. And the test that the Light is true is this very experience that it is beyond all conflict, and is absolutely simple in its revelations. Hence all those impulses, and those only, which lead life back towards the central unity, impulses such as those to brotherhood, and peace on earth, and good will to men, and simplicity of speech, can be

justified by the Light. Thus Fox, on occasion, sets right the victims of wayward openings.

Now this reason of Fox for feeling assured of the Light as a revelation of the truly divine is essentially the same as the typical mystic's reason. There is a state of mind which is filled with harmony, unity, absolute goodness, perfect peace. The object present in this state of mind must be the God in whom all desires are fulfilled and from whom all power comes. This is the essential mystical thought.

And now, further, as to the character which the Light reveals as the truly divine: "Great things," says Fox, in speaking of the crises of his youthful experience, "did the Lord lead me into, and wonderful depths were opened unto me, beyond what can by words be declared." He then learned, as he explains, "the hidden unity in the Eternal Being." Again in his account of his early experiences he says: "I saw also that there was an ocean of darkness and death; but an infinite ocean of light and love which flowed over the ocean of darkness. . . . I saw into that which was without end, things which cannot be uttered, and the greatness and infiniteness of the love of God which cannot be expressed by words." He himself compared at the time his state with that of Paul, when Paul was caught up into the third heaven. Unity, infinity, perfection, are the predicates constantly ascribed by Fox, in his later writings, to that which the vision of God reveals. Now that these are Divine Attributes everybody has heard. Fox, however, had a strong sense that the Light enables the soul to see these attributes by a direct intuition at the moment of contemplation. This, however, is so far the typical mystic doctrine. And it is notable in this connection that Fox is comparatively indifferent to any further technical definition of God's nature except in these terms, an indifference common to all mystics. That this immediate intuition was associated in his mind with the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, is true; but the theological problems to which this doctrine leads are wholly in the background of his consciousness just in so far as he considers the central intuition of the divine presence itself. But precisely such indifference to the further articulation of the concept of the Divine Being is characteristic of the mystics.

Whether they speak of God or of Christ, of the Spirit or of the Absolute, all is to them One, and this One is unity and peace.

Here, then, is the mystical aspect of Fox's experience and of his theology. In his portrayal of the experience of the Light, the sensuous imagery so characteristic of typical mystics is very little in evidence. Yet it is not wholly lacking. The term "the Light" is itself a sensuous metaphor, although indeed a conventional one. But Fox occasionally goes further in the use of a sort of speech which mystics employ mainly because an immediate experience must indeed be formulated, if at all, in terms of sensations and of simple feelings. In 1664, at the age of forty years, Fox writes, in one of his epistles, to Friends in distress, regarding the comforts that Christ can give them: "And so think not the winter and cold weather, nor the night long; for the lilies do grow, and the gardens do give a good smell; and there is a difference between the carnal mind and a spiritual. . . . And the sun shines, and the light is clear and not dim, that you may see your way, and life, though there is a storm and tempest in the sea. And so mind the summer, and the singing of birds; and not the winter and night in which evil beasts do yell." In his youth, when the Light first came to him, it was accompanied by an especially numerous collection of interior visions, and on the other hand appeared to give to his ordinary perceptions an extraordinarily clear and vivid character. The following often quoted passage is here in question. It occurs in the record of the year 1648, when Fox was twenty-four years old:

Now was I come up in spirit, through the flaming sword, into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, innocency, and righteousness, being renewed into the image of God by Christ Jesus; so that I was come up to the state of Adam, which he was in before he fell. The creation was open to me; and it was showed me how all things had their names given them, according to their nature and virtue. I was at a stand in my mind, whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord.

Fox soon gave up this idea, and turned back to religious plans; but this "opening" and the rejection of the plan show how the

mystic vision quickly translated itself in Fox's mind into practical form.

It was, however, just this tendency of the mystic vision to guide Fox's impulses into unity that gives the mystical aspect of his nature its actual importance in his life-work. As we saw at the outset, he never remained long absorbed in the vision. But, as we also saw in studying his "openings" in their general character, he was disposed by nature and by training to experience a variety of impulses, of openings, of automatisms, which in itself was dangerously chaotic. His humane and social tendencies were, indeed, a strongly counterbalancing influence, preventing false subjectivity. But, on the other hand, his freedom from nervous fears and from inhibitory scruples, with his vigorous self-confidence, disposed him to courses of action which, like the Lichfield incident, might have ruined his influence if he had lacked strong inner restraint. To gain such restraint was, as we have seen, the central problem of such a nature. Now it was the Light, the experience, never very trance-like, seldom very vivid or sensuously rich in coloring, but always calm, comforting, refreshing, quiet—the experience of God's immediate presence—it was this which gave his vehement active tendencies their needed rest, which brought them into consistency, which demanded that they should all be used in its service, and which saved them from chaos, from excess, and from wilfulness. Thus at length we see how Fox's mysticism, although but an auxiliary tendency in his nature, was an indispensable auxiliary.

Until, in his youth, between twenty-two and twenty-four years of age, Fox first came to know the Light as a sustained experience, his unrest was manifest, but not his mission; his piety, but not his higher self-control; his interest in religion, but not his possession of power. His automatisms were numerous and benevolent, but thus far they lacked unity. While, as I said, he never had any deep sense of guilt, some of his automatic processes occasionally seemed to him temptations of the evil one. He therefore lived for years in a state of puzzle, of inward division. The Light, when it came, meant a vision of unity—a vision that was in so far of the mystic type. The vision, at first unsteady, became habitual, controlled, and a regular

spiritual exercise. It was never the true mystic trance. It remained, however, always a sense of immediate communion with the Infinite. It thus became the Unmoved Mover, if I may use Aristotle's phrase, in his life. Henceforth his unresting nature remained; but the centre of his world had become fixed; and from that centre up to the highest heaven of his experience, the aim to imitate that which he viewed as beyond all his experience but as in immediate touch with his highest intuitions pervaded all his life. The automatisms persisted; but they became organized in the service of the one principle. The special revelations were daily with him; but they were forced to be the revelations of the same great and immovable unity which he called God.

Such, I take it, was the place of mysticism in the life of George Fox. In consequence, his untutored theology, despite its unconsciousness of philosophy, was nearer to becoming an Idealism, in the modern sense, than to being a Mysticism in the classical sense. His vision of God, despite all his quaint interpretations of Scripture and all his capricious private intimations of supernatural guidance, remained nearer to being a revelation of truth than it would have been, had he sunk deeper into the mystic trance. And, above all, the Light taught this unresting soul how to labor amid all the storms and the lurid hatreds of his day, not in vain, but humanely, valiantly, and beneficently.